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FOR CARTER

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HEREWITH FULL TEXT NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE THURSDAY, JUNE
16 HEADED "SKIRMISH AT BELGRADE. BY WILLIAM SAFIRE.

WASHINGTON, JUNE 15--'WHAT WORKS IS GOOD.' THAT IS THE
ESSENCE OF THE PHILOSOPHY WILLIAM JAMES NAMED 'PRAGMATISM'
AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY; ITS TEACHING IS AT THE HEART
OF THE ATTACK MANY AMERICANS ARE MAKING ON AMERICA'S
HUMAN-RIGHTS EMPHASIS IN BELGRADE THIS WEEK.

IT'S ALL VERY WELL TO SPEAK OUT FOR FREE SPEECH AND THE
RIGHTS OF DISSIDENTS, THE PRAGMATISTS SAY, OR TO CONDEMN
TORTURE AND DENOUNCE REPRESSION--BUT IT DOES NOT WORK, AND
IS THEREFORE 'COUNTERPRODUCTIVE.' IF WE REALLY BELIEVE IN
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ALL THOSE HUMAN RIGHTS, WE SHOULD SHUT UP AND LET 'QUIET
DIPLOMACY' DO THE JOB.

WHAT IS MORE IMPORTANT, THEY ASK--EMBARRASSING THE
TOTALITARIANS IN THE ARENA OF WORLD OPINION, OR HELPING THE

PEOPLE WHOSE HUMAN RIGHTS ARE BEING DENIED? BY RAISING A

FUSS, THE PRAGMATISTS ARGUE, WE HARM THE VERY PEOPLE WE WANT MOST TO HELP.

VIEWED THROUGH PRAGMATIST EYES, THE ARREST ON A TREASON CHARGE OF A JEWISH DISSIDENT IN MOSCOW IS A CONSEQUENCE OF OUR MEDDLING, AND NOT OF SOVIET OFFICIAL ANTI-SEMITISM. THROUGH THAT PRAGMATIC PRISM, HARASSMENT AND DETENTION OF LOS ANGELES TIMES CORRESPONDENT ROBERT TOTH IS A SLAP-IN-THE-FACE RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S PRONOUNCEMENTS ABOUT DEMOCRATIC IDEALS, AND NOT PRIMARILY A MANIFESTATION OF SOVIET DESPOTISM.

MODERN DIPLOMATIC PRAGMATISM PUTS THE ENDS (OF EASING RESTRICTIONS ON INDIVIDUALS) BEFORE THE MEANS (OF PUBLICLY SPEAKING OUT ON RIGHTS AS A BASIC HUMAN VALUE). AND ITS ARGUMENT HAS AN APPEAL: PRACTICAL AMERICANS LIKE RESULTS, AND THERE ARE MANY ADHERENTS TO 'WHAT WORKS IS GOOD.'

THE TROUBLE IS THAT IN THE LONG RUN, THE QUIET DIPLOMACY OF PRAGMATISM NEITHER WORKS NOR IS GOOD. FOR A FREE SOCIETY TO JOIN A CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE IN RETURN FOR ASSURANCES THAT A TYRANNY IS PROVIDING TEMPORARY TIDBITS OF FREEDOM IS TO THROW AWAY OUR MOST EFFECTIVE IDEOLOGICAL WEAPON.

FOR US TO BLAME OURSELVES FOR THE WAY THE SOVIET RULERS RETALIATE ON THEIR OWN PEOPLE WHEN WE SUPPORT THEIR DISSIDENTS IS TO TURN TRUTH ON ITS HEAD. AS THE SOVIET DISSENTERS KNOW, THEIR SUFFERING--AND THE PUBLICITY GIVEN

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THEIR SAVAGE REPRESSION--HAS AN EFFECT ON WORLD OPINION, AND ULTIMATELY MUST HAVE ITS EFFECT ON MODERATING REPRESSION IN THE SOVIET UNION.

THE ONLY TIME 'QUIET DIPLOMACY' HAD ANY EFFECT ON HUMAN RIGHTS WAS WHEN THE UNITED STATES DEALT FROM STRENGTH AND THE SOVIETS FROM WEAKNESS. FIVE YEARS AGO, WHEN THE U.S. RESOLVE HAD BEEN PROVED STRONG AND THE SOVIETS WERE IN DESPERATE NEED OF GRAIN, WE WERE ABLE TO INDUCE INCREASED EMIGRATION FROM RUSSIA. TODAY, WE ARE ON THE STRATEGIC DEFENSIVE; COMMUNISM IS SUBVERTING EUROPE AND MOVING INTO AFRICA; WE NO LONGER HAVE THE BIG STICK TO ENABLE US TO SPEAK SOFTLY. WITHOUT QUIET POWER AND THE WILL TO USE IT, QUIET DIPLOMACY LOSES ITS EFFECTIVENESS.

THAT IS WHY IT IS SO IMPORTANT TO CALL THE SOVIETS TO ACCOUNT FOR THEIR BROKEN PROMISES OF HELSINKI, AND TO SHOW THE WORLD THE DIFFERENCE IN HUMAN TERMS BETWEEN TOTALITARIAN AND FREE SOCIETIES. AT THE MOMENT, THE POWER OF OUR

EXAMPLE IS ABOUT THE ONLY POWER WE HAVE GOING FOR US.

THE FEROCITY OF THE RUSSIAN REACTION TO LONG-OVERDUE CRITICISM SHOULD POINT UP TO OUR OWN PRAGMATISTS THAT SOVIET GOALS ARE NEITHER A RELAXATION OF TENSION NOR A GENUINE NUCLEAR PARITY: THEIR GOAL, NOW AS ALWAYS, IS WORLD DOMINATION THROUGH A STEADY EXPANSION OF COMMUNIST POWER. IN THE FACE OF THAT RELENTLESS CHALLENGE, AMERICAN POLICY OUGHT NOT TO VACILLATE BETWEEN QUIET DIPLOMACY ONE DAY, FERVENT EMBRACINGS OF DISSIDENTS THE NEXT DAY, AND GEE-YOU-GOT-ME-WRONG THE DAY FOLLOWING.

OUR CONSISTENT POLICY OUGHT TO BE TO REMIND THE WORLD AND OURSELVES OF THE ADVANTAGES OF FREEDOM OVER THE SYSTEM OF TOTALITARIANISM, TO PENALIZE DESPOTISM WHENEVER POSSIBLE, TO REWARD A TURNING TOWARD MORE REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT WHEREVER POSSIBLE. IN THAT STRUGGLE, PUBLICITY IS TO OUR UNCLASSIFIED

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ADVANTAGE; PRAGMATIC QUIET IS TO THE ADVANTAGE OF OUR ADVERSARIES.

IN BELGRADE THIS WEEK, THE SOVIETS ARE OFFERING US A DEAL: IF WE SHUT UP ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS, THEY WILL REDUCE THEIR INCREASED REPRESSION AND HARASSMENT. IF WE DO NOT, THE SUFFERING THEY INFLICT IS SUPPOSED TO BE ALL OUR FAULT.

SORRY, THAT'S A BAD DEAL. MR. BREZHNEV IS TESTING MR. CARTER TODAY JUST AS MR. KHRUSHCHEV TESTED MR. KENNEDY IN VIENNA IN THE FIRST YEAR OF HIS PRESIDENCY. THEN, THE SOVIET ASSESSMENT OF AMERICAN WEAKNESS LED TO THE BRINK OF WAR A YEAR LATER; ONE CAN HOPE MR. CARTER HAS LEARNED MR. KENNEDY'S LESSON.

'WHEN MAY A TRUTH GO INTO COLD STORAGE,' ASKED PRAGMATIST WILLIAM JAMES; '...AND WHEN SHALL IT COME OUT FOR BATTLE?' THE SOVIETS DEMAND THAT WE KEEP THE TRUTH ABOUT FREEDOM IN COLD STORAGE, AND IT IS A PITY THAT SO MANY OF OUR OPINION-MAKERS ARE ADDING TO THE PRESSURE ON THE NEW PRESIDENT AT SUCH A CRUCIAL MOMENT.

ABSENT A POWER BALANCE OR MUTUAL PEACEFUL INTENTIONS,

PRAGMATISM IS A LOSER. THIS IS THE TIME TO EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITIES OF MORALISM: WHAT IS GOOD CAN WORK." CHRISTOPHER

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